88| During the period of seclusion at *N'dapala*, rigorous discipline is maintained among the boys, the day commencing with bathing in a stream whither the souls are driven before sunrise, a favorite form of punishment being to make the boy sit for hours in the cold water. Other disciplinary measures take the form of frequent beatings. At one *Ungapa* I know of, there was a kind of mutiny among the boys. The *akamasi* from a nearby *Ungapa* were called in and the boys received very severe "hidings" for their trouble.

For the entire time, the souls are occupied in receiving instruction given by their *akamasi*, on the discipline of manhood; they are taught native custom as applied to their relations with their fellows, an exacting code of etiquette to be observed to their elders, and the observances of married life. They learn to become proficient in the arts associated with their sex — the making of baskets, mats, traps, etc., the method of agriculture, drumming and dancing. They stay up late into the night listening to the stories of their tribal history.

Until such time as the circumcision wound is healed, each boy must cook his own food, after which food is brought ready cooked by his mother.

Posted in the bush a little way from the encampment are some of the boy's guardians, *akamasi* or *akombwe* (sing. *nikombi*) who act as pickets to warn off innocent or intentional intruders. They are armed with sticks, etc., and give pretty severe treatment to any inquisitive persons they catch. A visitor to *N'dapala* may be required by them to give visible evidence of not being *nikombi*. The mothers who come with food call from a distance, "*Akombwe nikombi!*" Answer is made, "*Atakhila tulye!*" "Put down for us that we may eat."

88| When the chief decides that the time has come for the return from *N'dapala*, he sends
273 for the *m'mikhila*. Arrived in the village with medicine which he has collected, he is given millet by the mother of the leader from which the malt for beer making is to be prepared, also a cock and a hen and a pot. Into the pot he puts a tail feather from the cock and one from the hen, together with his medicine; then the millet, and water is poured on, after which he goes to *N'dapala* and shaves the heads of all the souls beginning with the leader and then returns to his own village. When the millet has sprouted, the woman takes it out to dry on a mat, and the two feathers and the packet of medicine are laid on the mat by its side. From this time, all the mothers are busy preparing malted grain for brewing beer, and, when it is ready, the *m'mikhila* is again called to the village. He orders the women to prepare for brewing, to bring firewood, their brewing pots, and stones to support them on the fire. These are all set round in a circle in the presence of the chief and headmen. Across the stones the *m'mikhila* lays his "tails" and on the firewood he sprinkles some medicine; the "tails" are then removed and the pots set on the fire. Commencing with the pots belonging to the mother of the leader, he acts similarly all round. The following day, he again visits the scene of the brewing. Putting his "tails" on the ground, he dips from each pot in turn and pretending to drink the sweetliquor from the dipper, he empties it into other pots carried by his assistants. From his own pots, he then empties

3:Dixonus D-6 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Tao-FT7

some sweetbrier into a big gourd. These his assistants will carry away, together with a box, to *Lagundo*, whither the m'mitkila now goes to remain while brewing goes on for four days.

During their stay at *Lagundo*, the m'mitkila and his assistants live on flour and chickens begged from the mothers of the unit. On the first day nothing is done; on the second day they begin making the *Jaapo* or figures in relief of animals, etc., to be distilled later; *Nawaapawi* is made this day. On the third day the other figures are made and on the fourth day *ching'wadong'wado*. Into the ground where *ching'wadong'wado* is made, some of the strong beer, known as *ngango*, which is added to the flour and water mixture on the fourth day as signified by *ba-kidajida*, is poured by the m'mitkila.

When the work at *Lagundo* is finished, the m'mitkila carrying his " tail " leads his assistants wearing their feather headdresses back to the chief's village singing:

"*Kingidde ukuse kungo ukidajida ba wasi, mulungu ukawasi*
"I went go and see beer perhaps they have mixed at the village, sometime oh don't
Ukilawila ukawajisi ngadja sana ningawila mila!"
The going out of a day or two ago if I had not taken tobacco I would have died of hunger!"

Arriving at the village where the brewing is going on, the m'mitkila takes a cup and putting his " tails " on the ground, he dips into the pot of beer belonging to the healer's mother, pours some on his " tail," and then drinks some. Then he puts more into a gourd, together with some medicine, and going up to the chief who sits in his verandah overlooking the brewing place, he hands, and first drinking a little himself, he presents the drinking gourd of beer to the chief who drinks and then returns the cup to the m'mitkila who finishes it. Picking up his " tail," he then goes straight back to *Lagundo* while his assistants with some men nominated by the chief go round choosing pots of beer in turn. The assistants choose by striking a pot with a medicine-tail. These pots of beer are then put aside to cool, while moderate drinking begins in the chief's house. This takes place in the morning of the day on which the unit will return from *Ndagala* to *Lagundo*, and in the afternoon, the people from the villages will go out to *Lagundo* to take part in the return. The return is made about sunset.

The unit at *Ndagala* are put into their shelters and the doorways barricaded. At sunset or just after, the place is set on fire and the unit have to charge their way through the back of the shelters. They then have to flee, wearing a slip of bark cloth round their loins and over this, a kind of kilt called *mayajawira* if made of frilled-out bark-cloth, or *mujenga* if made of palm leaves. Accompanied by the shamans, they proceed towards *Lagundo*, each carrying a stick of smouldering wood and an unlit torch of bark-cloth.

The burning of the huts at *Ndagala* has been the sign to the m'mitkila that the unit have left; he puts round his waist a bark cloth belt, shambo, and a rolled mat round his chest with the ends hanging down behind and on his head he wears the large headdress made of the feathers of *shimgu*, the widow-bird. In each hand he carries the tail of gnu or zebra, held right end up, with the hollow end filled with " medicine." Thus arrayed, he goes out

While the *wali* thus march solemnly along shaking their wands, the assistants begin singing:

"*Ee ndenge ambeiwa*"
"To the gate they have shut"

to which the *wali* reply:

"*Kuwaa kwakupeiwa*"
"There is no place where to pass"

The *m'mbidila* remains at *Lupondo* till everyone else has left; he then sets fire to the shelters and leaving without looking back, runs to overtake the procession and then leads it on towards the village still at a slow pace, while all around is a yelling crowd of delighted mothers and other relatives and the assistants and drummers, all singing and shouting.

When the outskirts of the village are reached, the *m'mbidila* halts and waits for the *chief* to come out and give them permission to enter. The *chief* brings *ochre* which unrolled on the ground measures the length of the procession of *wali*. Headed now by their leader, the *wali* walk over this *ochre*, while the assistants roll it up behind them for the *m'mbidila*, as it is part of his payment. Flour may be brought him at the same time, carried by the *chief's* wives.

At an *Unyago* I witnessed at Kwanzama's, the halt was called on the bank of a stream at the edge of the village where a bamboo arch had been erected. The arrival of *Chief Malenya* at this point with *ochre* and flour was the sign for a demonstration by his young men who ran forward as if in battle, firing off bleak rounds from old Tower muskets and executing a kind of war dance.

After the *ochre* has been handed over, the *chief* returns to his kraal and the procession continues into the village, across the village open space to the fence round the *chief's* house. There, the *wali* enter by a gateway and dispose over the courtyard where they find their sleeping-mats laid out ready for them by their mothers. The *m'mbidila* lays his "tail" on the leader's mat to bring good luck thenceforth. With *Mlemula*, there is no further part for the *wali*, but in some cases they are called upon by the *chief* to give an exhibition of their dancing and drumming. The *wali* sleep that night in the kraal and disperse the following day.

In the morning, the *m'mbidila* takes his "tail" and a stirring stick made from a millet stalk with the roots on it, and strikes the ground at points in a row in front of the *chief's* house. Here the pots of beer which have been prepared are placed in rows, those chosen by the *chief* and those chosen by the *m'mbidila*, and drinking commences. The *m'mbidila*, before he joins in, takes the *wali* to an ash-heap in the village and there sprinkles them with medicine from a grain-mortar after which they go with their *akamwai* behind a house and change into new clothes. They then go and salute the *chief* by clapping their hands and depart to their villages, duly initiated and somewhat subdued by what they have been through. Their new names as "*mwa*" may be given them by the *akamwai* either at *Lupondo* or after the return to the village.

3: Stanner B-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Tao FT7

There has never been any shortage of land and therefore the plotting out of gardens was a matter which caused little trouble. A man wishing to make a new garden the next season simply marked the site in the bush by tearing some trees or hoeing around some patches of grass and tying the grass ends into a knot. If anyone else came along and found this plot, the man who had marked it out still claimed it and need not pay for the hoeing done. Whenever a man was doubtful about a piece of land, he would ask advice of the headman of the village.

When an abandoned garden had become overgrown, anyone wishing to take it up applied to the headman who sent him to ask the original owners whether they wished to take it up again. The newcomer could take possession only with their permission.

Often if a village were moved, during the first season the people simply put up shelters in their gardens. Later, the site of the village was chosen and around it a medicine man sprinkled medicine to insure happiness and prosperity. The tree from which this medicine was made became sacred to the village and might not be used for firewood, or was subject to any other taboo the medicine man might care to make. He might also say, "In this village there shall be no pounding of grain at night," etc.

If a village were to be built near a spot previously inhabited, medicine and offerings were made to the departed spirits of the former occupants to put them at rest and "open" the place to the newcomers. The bow-pot from the grave of some former chief or headman, who was supposed to have directed the destinies of the old village, was brought to the new location and here placed in it to insure his continued guidance.

In the case of a village into which a number of men had married, the spokesmen of the wives went to the spokesmen of the husbands and asked permission to move the village.[1] Later, beer was brewed in the new village and the spokesmen invited to come and drink and "put feet in the new village."

Relationship. Family relationship among natives presents certain difficulties to the European accustomed to equivalent relationship of males and females on both sides of the family. In the diagram below (Fig. 1) the relationship of the two children (C 8) will be traced. The mother and father (B 10 and 9) are the subjects and none but are addressed as owne and atati. The maternal uncles elder and younger than the mother (B 11 and 12) are called akwabowe and their wives (B 12 and 14) akwapwe. The maternal aunts are addressed as owne, mother, anyone elder than the mother being distinguished as owne mukulupwe, "the bigger" (B 13), a younger aunt as owne wamadi, "the lesser" (B 17); their respective husbands are addressed atati, atati mukulupwe (B 14), and atati wamadi (B 16). On the father's side the uncles are called atati mukulupwe (B 1) and atati wamadi (B 3), respectively, for those elder and younger than the father, and their wives owne mukulupwe (B 2) and owne wamadi (B 4). The paternal aunts are called atati mukulupwe (female speaking) (B 5 and 7), their husbands (B 4 and 6) atati.

[1] Vide supra, p. 280.

276 made by boiling down the solution obtained by straining a decoction of water and the ashes of banana leaves; it contains, of course, some of the inorganic salts from the banana leaves. Without this addition, smalt is said to lack its proper aroma. The Angoni do not warm their snuff, but add a cooked snuff in a similar way from cow dung.

262 146 Food stuffs. According to the general supposition, the native lives on a very monotonous diet, with a great excess of carbohydrates to the exclusion of proteids and fats. While it is certainly true that he does not consider that he has been fed without his "chauk" of flour (maize, millet, rice or cassava), still he feels that his meal is a poor one if it does not also include some secondary dish, such as beans, fish, or green vegetables cooked like spinach.

263 262 The grains chiefly grown and used by the Yao are maize, millet, and a certain amount of rice.

Millets (sorghum): *Magombo*, a tall variety, eight feet high, which is harvested late; *Magombo ga mwanji*, a hairy variety; *Liambalalo*, a short kind, five feet high, which matures early; *Mlalani*, characterized by the fact that the ripe grains will fall when the plant is shaken, and by a rather bitter taste; *Nandanji*, a variety six feet high which ripens quickly; *Kapile*, a shorter variety with a bitter taste but, according to the natives, a pleasant smell. (It makes good beer.)

Eleusine: *Liawanje*, about four feet high with very small grains; *Chindumba*, used for making a very strong beer; *Mwandi*, a variety eight feet high. Cyperus grasses: *Usanje*; there are two varieties, *Kasambata*, which curls up and is used for making strong beer, and another kind which is not curly.

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Maize: A number of varieties of the species *Zea mays* are grown by the Yao: *Chiuwa*, a black-grained variety; *Nampinde*, red maize; *Liawanje*, the seeds of which are large, white, and dented; *Nambinga*, with grains flattened on the free surface; *Kanjidenjale*, a dwarf maize about four feet high.

Rice (*Oryza sativa*): *Mpunga* (generic name *Likati*), a large-grained variety; *Singano*, with very long grains; *Linguvindimba*, red rice; *Mlungula*, characterized by the strong, not unpleasant odor it gives out when being cooked.

244 242 Cassava: *Chinangwa* is grown everywhere, but the Yao do not prepare flour from it, preferring to eat it raw at cold times. There are several varieties; *Chinangwa cha chiuwa*, white cassava; *Chinangwa cha mbawani*, a brown variety; *Liwanga*, a bitter species (*Manihot utilissima*) which produces a very large root; *Chilusi* and *Kaw'anga*, varieties of *Manihot aipi*, the former characterized by its long, tapering leaves, while the latter is a dwarf variety with a big root.

Beans: There are a number of species of beans grown: *Mlawamanda* (*Cajanus indicus*), *ngwanda* (*Vigna catiang*), *mbawani* (*Phaseolus mungo*), *mbawanda*, (*Phaseolus sp.*), *nimalalanda*, (*Phaseolus sp.*), *ngwalawalisi*, and a ground bean *njawa* (*Voandzeia subterranea*).

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spoon into a clean shallow basket or on to a plate. The *ndiwo* or relish, consisting of vegetables such as beans or a kind of spinach, a little fish or chicken, is cooked in a separate pot, and round these those about to eat collect. Washing their left hands in water, they take some of the porridge and making a sausage shape of it, dip it in the *ndiwo* and then cram it into their mouths.

Salt was obtained either from natural deposits or from "salt earth" on a stream bank near Fort Johnston, or from the ashes of burnt *kango* reeds or *machedza*; by a method of percolation through porous pots.

The native rather drinks between meals—water. After eating he may wash his mouth out and clean his teeth, using the frayed end of a piece of wood as a brush.

Alcohol.—With the exception of the people living on the lower river, who drink fermented palm juice,[1] beer is the common alcoholic beverage. Beer is made from maize (*chimanga*) or millet (*mapira*); the crop of the latter is very largely used for beer making; it makes the best beer and is certainly preferred by Angoni.

Gruel is prepared by boiling flour with water; after an hour leaven (*chimala*) is added fermentation sets in; and it may be drunk the next day; it is the sweet beer, *ntiko* or *ontondera*. On the second day it is again boiled and is allowed to cool; the third day more leaven is added (*chikutiko*); the fourth day fresh gruel is made, and the contents of the original pot, now called *ngunga*, is added to it, making two pots of beer. It may be drank the same day while hot or allowed to cool and taken on the second day.

Food-stuffs.

1. Maize (*chimanga*), millet (*mapira*, *mawere*), rice (*mpunga*).
2. Cassava—sweet potato.
3. Beans and peas of many varieties.
4. Pumpkins, cucumbers, melons (*dzungu*, *mkulu*, *chibwende*).
5. Many kinds of leaves growing wild—also pumpkin leaves, of which a kind of spinach is made.
6. Bananas (*paw-paw*), sugar cane and reeds are sucked.
7. White ants, locusts, honey.
8. Numbers of small animals are eaten by Chipeta, Angoni, etc. With the spread of Mohammedanism this is going out; rats, mice, hares, rock-rabbit, etc. Chipeta will eat dog, and I once saw one eat baboon. Frogs, shell-fish, snakes, crocodiles, crows, vultures, eagles, are never eaten.
9. Fish (*nsomba*), fresh or dried, is much eaten, thirteen varieties being enumerated.
10. Chickens, ducks, wild birds that they may snare.

[1] Spirits used to be made by distilling from beer and banana and palm-juice by means of a pot and a gun barrel.